2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

177 a table, *ostuol*, shows its origin from the Russian word for table, *stol*.
352 In ancient times, the Yakut used tables without legs, or boards, which were called *sandaly*. These were placed on the floor before the visitors or on the bank between them.

357 The fireplace (*osox*, or *kömüläök*, from the Russian, *kamelek*, No. 9) is situated in the northeastern corner of the dwelling; its front part faces the dividing line between the male and female halves of the house.

Fig. 21 (70-9284, 9281). Model of a Table and a Chair.

The hearth, quadratic in form, consists of a wooden trough made of logs or heavy boards, and lined with beaten clay. The length of the sides of the trough is about 5 feet and the height about 11 inches. The chimney, open in front and sloping backward somewhat, consists of poles, tied with twigs at the top, over the roof, and coated inside with clay. The mistress of the house is the chief guardian of the hearth
562 841 844 585 354 which is the family protector. She alone is privileged to pass in front of it; all the other women must go around back of it. If the master of the house or an honorary guest stands in front of the hearth, the mistress too must pass behind it. During her menstrual period a woman is not allowed to touch the fire or to approach the hearth. A woman lying-in and her midwife may not enter the part of the house lighted by the flame of the hearth. A bride entering the house of her husband must throw a few little sticks into the fire and make a libation of melted butter. After these, she becomes a member of the family. It seems that the throwing of little sticks is symbolic of making fire, the task of a woman member of the family. A photograph of the Yakut hearth (Fig. 52) may be seen in the chapter on pottery.

342 ● 171 Fig. 22 shows the exterior of the Yakut earth hut. When built separately from the earth hut for cattle, it has the form of a truncated pyramid, but in the illustration the two structures are combined. The cattle stable has an exit door to the yard, but there is also an inside door leading from the dwelling to the cattle stable (Fig. 19). The Russians call the Yakut earth hut, *yourta*, a name given to all types of native dwellings whether tents or permanent huts. The Yakut themselves call their earth hut, *balahan*, a name used also by the Mongoloid peoples of Siberia. There is a winter earth hut (*kystyk balahan*) and a summer earth hut (*sayylyk balahan*) which do not differ. The summer hut is

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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erected in places where the Yakut make and prepare hay for the winter, when it is transported on sledges to the winter quarters as needed. Pekarsky says that the Buryat and Mongol also use the word *balahan* for earth huts,[1] but the noted linguist, Böhtlingk, finds that *balahan* is not a Yakut but a Persian word introduced to the Yakut by Russians.[2] A genuine Yakut word for dwelling in general is *djiyd* or *jiyd*; *buordjiyd*, earth hut; *tuos djiyd* (=*urasa*), birchbark tent; *sakha djiätä* (=*buor djiyd*), Yakut dwelling; *saŭa djiätä* (Russian house), block or log house.

Fig. 22. Exterior of a Yakut Hut in Winter.

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The Yakut earth hut is built as follows: four posts, driven into the ground, are joined by four cross-beams, on which rest the upper ends of poles or roughly hewn boards, set up in a slanting position. The cross-beams are covered with branches, poles, or boards, over which bark is spread, thus forming the ceiling and roof. Then the roof and sloping walls are covered with mud, earth, and clay, mixed with cow dung. In winter a layer of snow is added. The floor, generally of beaten mud, is sunk about two feet below the ground; rich people, however, have it level with the ground and covered with boards. The windows, mentioned before, forming small square openings, admit scant light, and are covered by sheets of ice in winter, and, in summer, with fish membrane, mica, oiled paper, or dense horsehair nets, which ventilate the dwelling

[1] Pekarsky, *Dictionary of the Yakut Language*, *op. cit.*, 346.

[2] Böhtlingk, Otto von, Über die Sprache der Jakuten. Grammatik, Text und Wörterbuch. (*Besondere Abdruck aus dritten Bande von Dr. A. T. Middendorf's Reise in den äussersten Norden und Osten Sibiriens*, St. Petersburg, 1851), 131.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

among the Yakut fishermen of the Upper Kolyma River, as well as among the local Russian settlers. The Altaian Turks also use such a dwelling. 342 [177]

Clothing

Headgear takes many forms. One type, worn by men as well as women, has a somewhat pointed top and is trimmed with a large strip of squirrel, fox or marmot skin. Two pointed tabs at the sides protect the ears, as may be seen, for instance, in Fig. 27 which shows a Yakut riding on an ox. Caps of such shape may be seen on the so-called "stone women" in Mongolia, according to Marco Polo. 291 [171]

Fig. 27. A Yakut riding an Ox harnessed to a Sledge loaded with Plaited Grass Mats.

A fairly common form for a man's fur cap is shown in Figs. 28 and 29. It has two leather strips which are tied under the chin.

Not far from Yakutsk and other Russian settlements, Yakut men wear round caps of the Russian style with crowns of foxes' legs and trimmed with land otter fur. [177]

In Fig. 30 is illustrated a woman's cap made of fox legskin, trimmed in front with a strip of land otterskin. There are two pairs of leather tie strings; the first is tied under the chin, the second around the neck. The back is ornamented with strips of leather and calico. It is lined with fur from the belly of a fox.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

sasyltumsa, meaning fox's nose. On the left side of the coat is attached the strike-a-light (*xatat*) (see Fig. 36) with a leather bag for tinder (*kyalyk*); the cover of the pocket is decorated with a silver ornament. Also attached to the coat are the *iskax*, small pincers with which women pull out their pubic hair, and *sabaska*, a little wooden calendar. In addition to the silver pendants and bead decorations the coat is embroidered in silk. All the pendants on the left side of the coat are called *ottuk simaha*.

Fig. 36 (70-8633). Steel for making Fire.

The back of a rich woman's *sanayax*, black cloth decorated with silver embroidery, is illustrated in Fig. 37. The collar and skirt are covered with the valuable sea otter fur. The border of the skirt and its slit are trimmed with lynx. The silver embroidery, is, I believe, not original with the Yakut but is an adaptation from Russian art.

Some additional women's *sanayaxes* in the Museum collection merit description. A decorated coat of a foalskin with the hair on has a skirt trimmed with lynx. Above the trimming is a checker work strip made of alternate black and white squares, the white of horse legs and the black of horse and cowskins. On the back is appliquéd a figure made of lynx and *tarbagan* (a kind of marmot—*arctomys* spec.) skins. This, called *kybytya*, means a wedge, but the figure is in the form of outstretched wings (Fig. 38) and, according to the Yakut, symbolizes the shoulder blades and has a magical significance.

Fig. 37 (70-9068). Back of a Highly Ornamented Coat, the Type worn by Rich Women. The decorative motives are embroidered in silver thread.

The preference for *tarbagan* as coat material, says Sieroszevski,[1] originated evidently in their former abode in southern Siberia. In their present territory *tarbagan* is lacking. But Baron Toll[2] saw this animal to the north of the Verkhoyansk Mountain Ridge as did the writer in various parts of Yakutsk Province.

[1] Sieroszevski, *ibid.*, 335.
[2] Toll, E., *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Russischs Reiches*, 100.

z: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

they do not use fur sleeping bags as do the Russians and some of the Tungus, nor do they sleep dressed in double fur clothing like the Chukchee and Koryak. They simply cover their naked shoulders with a hare skin blanket. There is a Russian proverb which says: Keep the feet warm, the head cold. The Yakut follow the opposite custom. When traveling in winter with Yakut drivers it was noted that they lay with heads and not their feet near the campfire. Usually one of the men stayed awake to tend the fire, but it sometimes happened that everyone fell asleep, the fire was extinguished, the blankets were lifted by the wind, exposing the naked backs of the sleepers to the frost which was covered with rime,—and they continued to sleep.

Fig. 46. Costume of Poor Yakut Children.

Pottery

In our discussion of dwellings we noted the Yakut use of clay to cover their earth huts and to rub their stoves. For these purposes they use an inferior clay called *cuor*, meaning simply, earth, soil. Clay for pottery is called *tuoi*. It cannot be said that Yakut pottery reaches great perfection, since the ceramic art is still in a low stage of development. However, clay pots are made everywhere in Yakutsk Province, except in its northern districts. The Yakut of the Verkhoyansk and Kolymsk districts and the northern part of the Viliuisk District neither manufacture nor use pottery.

Pottery-making requires the joint labor of men and women, the former find the suitable clay and the latter construct the pots. Pottery clay is found in the valleys of mountain rivers, usually forming a layer two meters thick under the black surface soil. That the Yakut brought the art of pottery-making with them from their original home in the south may be proven by the potsherds excavated in the Baikal region. Neither the Buryat, the present inhabitants of that region, nor the Mongols generally, ever made pottery. The potter's wheel and such refinements of the art as polishing, glazing, or painting, are all unknown to the Yakut, so that their pottery-making did not extend beyond the confines of the rudimentary technique.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

At the market at Yakutsk I have seen white clay pottery made with the potter's wheel. These wares were made by Russians. I could not learn, however, the origin of the white clay.

The Yakut of the northern districts of Yakut Province, Verkhoyansk and Kolymsk, of the lower course of the Lena, and of the villages on the Olenek, Khatanga, and Anabara rivers, neither use pottery nor have any knowledge of its manufacture, but utilize iron and copper utensils. It is curious that they do not know that their southern relatives from whom they separated about two hundred fifty years ago still use and make pottery. This is surprising since there are passages in folk tales referring to clay pots.

The fate of Yakut pottery demonstrates the possible differences in the sequence of development of culture. Among civilized nations the ceramic art has been perfected simultaneously with the development in the production and manufacture of metals. With the Yakut, as with other Siberian tribes, the opposite occurred. For instance, the present Kamchadal and Koryak do not know that their forefathers made pottery, but archaeological excavations[1] by the author on Kamchatka Peninsula and within the territory of the Koryak brought to light ancient specimens of their pottery. Compared with the Koryak and Kamchadal, however, the Yakut are relatively much more advanced in culture having, in the past, been affiliated with other civilized Turkic nations of southwestern Asia.

Metals

At present the Yakut are acquainted with iron, copper, bronze, silver, gold, tin, and lead. All these metals, except tin and lead, still retain their old Turkic names: iron, *timir;* copper, *altan*, red copper, *jas altan*, yellow copper; brass, *üös altan* or *ürüñ altan;* bronze, *čyañ* (after Sieroszewski); silver, *kömüs* or *ürüñ kömüs* (white *kömus*); gold, *kysyl kömüs* (red silver); tin, *xolholyun;* lead, *sibinäs*, *xolholyun* is a Mongol word and *sibinas* a Russian word (*svinetz*).

Iron. Iron (*timir*) is historically and economically the most important metal among the Yakut who were acquainted with the reduction of iron ores and iron manufacture before reaching their present abode. There are no data to prove that they worked iron before they learned the manufacture and use of copper, bronze, and other metals. In central Siberia, on the Yenisei and Angara rivers, ancient sites have been discovered on which remains of the late neolithic period were found

[1] Jochelson, Waldemar, Archaeological Investigations in Kamchatka (*Carnegie Institution of Washington*, No. 388, Washington 1928), 69–76.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

The Yakut prefer it[1] to the imported
Russian iron and call it *sakha-timir* (Yakut iron) as opposed to *nucha timir* (Russian iron). The Yakut iron ore yields 10 per cent iron, the Yakut are unable to handle the process in order to obtain a desirable sort of iron or to make steel. The imported steel, however, is too expensive for the Yakut. It is very easy to distinguish between the flexible Yakut knives and the hard Russian iron ware.

The Yakut Blacksmith. The double bellows (*küörl*) of the majority of East Siberian tribes is used by the Yakut blacksmiths. This type of bellows was found not only among the Turkic-Mongol tribes of central and western Asia, but also in Eastern Africa. The Yakut double bellows belongs to the type called *Schlauchblasebälge* (leather-bag-bellows) by German ethnologists. These leather-bag-bellows, in their turn, are known in two forms, one of which is represented by the Yakut double bellows which are distinguished by openings in the form of short slits in the tops of the leather bags. The tubes from the bags run to the furnace where they are united and have a single outlet. Pairs of small sticks are sewed along the edges of the slits. When these sticks are brought together with the hand the bag is hermetically sealed. The blacksmith's assistant, sitting on the floor between the leather bags, alternately raises and opens one of the bags with his fingers, simultaneously closing and lowering the other bag. In this way a continuous draft is maintained.[1] The Yakut blacksmith sits on a low seat at the furnace, his anvil (*kystyk*), tongs (*kytahas*), hammer (*ötuye*), and a file (*igi*), on the ground beside him. All these objects resemble the paraphernalia of the eighteenth century Mongolian smithy illustrated in Pallas' work.[2] The Yakut, like the Gypsy smith, has remained to a considerable degree an itinerant artisan. Usually he carries his tools and bellows to the place where the work is to be done. In Fig. 54 is illustrated a Yakut blacksmith who has established himself under the roof of a sledge shed belonging to a rich Yakut patron.

In many respects the technique of the smith has remained primitive. One of the disadvantages of the trade is the necessity of having an assistant for the bellows. The draft of the bellows is usually too strong for small objects which burn and too weak for large objects. Sometimes two

[1] For a discussion and detailed description of different types of bellows see the following: Andrée, R., *Die Metalle bei den Naturvölkern mit Berücksichtigung Prähistorischer Verhältnisse*. Leipsig, 1884; Beck, L., *Die Geschichte des Eisens*. Berlin, 1870–1871; Foy, W., Zur Geschichte der Eisentechnik und besonders des Gebläses (*Ethnologica. Im Auftrage des Vereins zur Förderung des städtischen Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum für Völkerkunde in Köln*, vol. 1, pp. 185–222. Leipsig, 1900); von Luschan, Felix, Eisentechnik in Afrika (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 41, pp. 22–59, Berlin, 1909). Doctor Foy combats the contention of Professor Von Luschan that Africa is the place of origin of iron smelting and the blacksmith's art.

[2] Pallas, P. S., *Sammlungen der historischen Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften*. 1787. Part 1, Pl. 5.

1 [i.e., pig iron mined in Yakutsk --ANALYST]

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

dark brown polish. The large kumiss ladles are also oiled for the same reason. Fig. 92 *a–c* illustrates such a ladle and the engravings at the end and the middle of the handle.

The decorative patterns on kumiss vessels are possibly as old as the religion with which they are connected. In them we find no Central Asiatic or Chinese decorative motives of the more advanced periods of

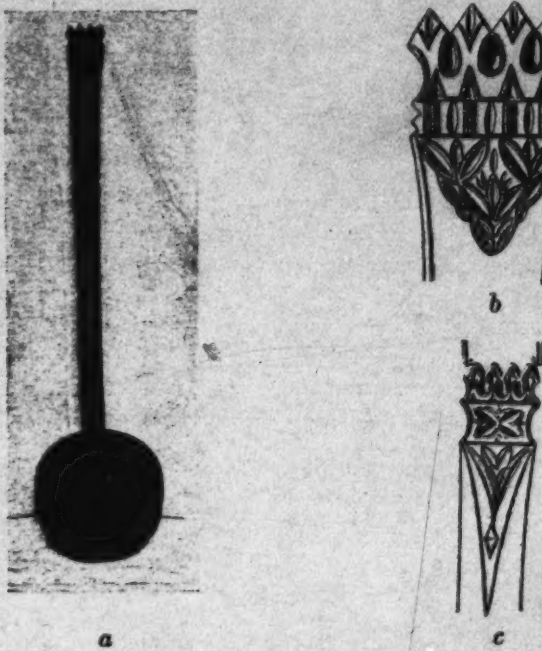

Fig. 92 *a–c* (60-8781). Large Wooden Kumiss Ladle used to fill the Drinking Goblets and Vessels from the Skin Barrel. *b–c*, Details of engravings at the end and middle of the ladle handle.

Asiatic culture; but we do find such decorative motives, consisting of complicated curves, spirals, coils, conventionalized plants and animals on their clothing, saddles, and silverware. The ornamentation of the kumiss vessels consists almost exclusively of geometrical figures which, judging from their native names, represent, in more or less conventionalized form, implements or other household objects.

Fig. 93 presents a series of patterns which occur most frequently on the kumiss vessels.

6: Sauer--109 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 101, 171, 173

"The nation known among the Russians by the name of Yakuti call themselves Socha, and say that they came originally from the south. A nation of Mongals inhabit the district of Krasnoyarsk, extending to China, who also call themselves Socha, and speak the same language as the Yakuti. These relate the following story of their migration."

6: Sauer--109-110 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut-1-2
116, 171, 173

"The Toyon (i.e. Chief) Omogai Bey, with all his tribe and cattle, left the fertile plains situated to the west of the lake Baical, or Baighal, to make way for a more powerful horde; retreating to the grassy meadows between Irkutsk and the river Lena, now known by the name of the Buratski Step. Here he resided some years, probably at continual strife with the Burati; for he was compelled to fly from their fury, availing himself of the decreasing moon, at which time the Burati never attack their enemies. Omogai crossed the Lena, at a spot between where Katshuga and Vercholensk now stands. He kept close to the river, making resting-places where he found pasture for his cattle, until he arrived at the estuary of the Olekma. In this neighbourhood are meadows affording plenty of grass, the rivers are abundantly stored with fish, and the woods replete with wild beasts. He might, indeed, have found places equally eligible before he came so far to the north; but these were the resort of the Tungoose, and he would have exposed himself to their depreda-[110]tions; for the Asiatic tribes, as well as those of America, were inveterate enemies to each other, and skirmishes were the sure consequences of meeting in their hunting parties: even now these frequently happen. While Omogai was in this situation, two of his hunters fell in with a man of their own race, who was called Aley, or Eley, and had made his escape from the Burati. They took him to Omogai's who employed him as his labourer. His remarkable strength, skill, and activity, soon recommended him to Omogai's particular notice, and

he was entrusted with the management of some excursions. The astonishing success that attended all his enterprises, induced Omogai to make him overseer of all his tribe and effects, which latter were considerably increased by the prudence of Aley's management; and, in consequence of this increase, the chief was obliged to extend his possessions to the vicinity of the present town of Yakutsk and the opposite plains."

6: Sauer--130 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 291, 171, 515

"Their dress is much more complete than that of the Tungoose; and the more wealthy among them wear a cloth coat lined and trimmed with fur, with tight and well made pantaloons; but their boots are ill shapen. The women dress very like the Tungoose, but are in general not so clean or sprightly."

7: Shklovsky --54 [2] T-3 (1891-92)1916 Yakut
116. 171, 776

"It is significant of the individual character of Yakutian theology that no offerings are ever made to the 'God of Gods,' the Spirit of the Eight-sided Universe (An-ya-Daidyn). To this god is given the title of 'The Drowsy,' which fact heightens the resemblance that this savage conception bears to the passive Brahma."

10: Bush--160, T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 609, 142, 171

"Upon arriving at the settlement, about fifty persons--men, women, and children--rushed from the log huts to meet us. They were nearly all Yakouts, and, though dressed much like the Tungusians, could be readily distinguished from the latter by the regularity of their features and the greater intelligence expressed in their countenances. They all have the prominent cheek-bones of the Tartar."

Il: Lansdell--302 M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 171, 291, 492

"The dress of the Yakutes resembles in its main features that of the other natives of Siberia, save, perhaps, that they are fonder of ornaments. Both sexes riding a good deal on oxen and horses, a perpendicular slit is made up the back from the bottom of the sanayakh, or upper garment, in order to render the wearer comfortable in the saddle, and some of the women add behind them a cushion or pad, to save them from the rough motion of the animals. During the milder part of the year a robe, made of very pliable leather, stained yellow, is worn, which indoors is frequently laid aside, and males and females sit by the fire, leaving the upper part of the body naked."

17: Erman--264-265 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 171, 197, 354

"Many of the Yakutian words, written from the lips of this man, [RCH: an old Yakut at Delgeisk] showed no essential agreement with the equivalent terms of the Sabaikalian Buraets, as given by Mitlèyev. On the other hand, I remarked in the yurts here many remarkable resemblances to the manners of the Ostyaks on the Obi. Thus the fire-place, the most important part of all northern dwellings, is constructed by both tribes after the same idea, for it consists here, as on the Obi, of a wicker frame plastered over with clay. The only difference is in the position of the apparatus, for the back of the fire-place is placed by the Ostyaks close to the wall of the house, whereas the Yakuts always leave room for a man to pass between their fire-place and the wall. The flue is therefore perpendicular in the yurts on the Obi, whereas in those of the Yakuts here they lean backwards, at an angle of 30°, so as to form a continuation of the burning logs, which are placed in a similarly oblique position, resting below on the bottom of the fire-place, and above, on the mouth of the flue. This deviation from the Ostyak mode of construction is evidently advantageous, for here, the moment the fire is kindled, a strong and audible [265] draught is perceptible, with a bright flame; but in the yurts on the Obi there is more frequently pungent smoke with a dull fire."

17: Erman--269 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-1-2
H6, 342, 171, 354, 372

"The Yakuts in Namana, and along the road onward for 110 versts, as far as Sanayakhtàtsk, live still quite in their ancient, original fashion. Again, I found their yurts exactly like those of the Ostyaks; they are rectangular, flat-roofed, and fitted inside with what are here called narui, that is, raised and divided berths along the walls. The thick flakes of ice, which serve as window panes, were here also held against the wall from the outside, by a slanting pole, the lower end of which was fixed in the ground. In the night, when the fire goes out, this ice is covered, like glass, with an opaque and snow-like hoar-frost, which, in the daytime melts away, as well as a considerable portion of the ice itself, from the heat of the yurt, and the flakes, which are, at first, a foot thick, require to be renewed four or five times in the course of the winter; a provision of suitable ice always lying before the yurt. The parts of these dwellings which are directly heated by the fire, attain a temperature of +15° or +20° R. (1) We found the

1. It may be assumed that, of the heat proceeding from the fire-place, there is as much expended on the flake of ice as passes, on an average, through an equal area of the wooden wall. In a cubical yurt of 15 feet, the melting, in succession, of four flakes of ice a foot thick, shows that the whole amount of heat in 170 winter's days, would suffice to melt 5400 cubic feet of ice. The quantity of fuel required for this would amount, according to Rumford's experiments, if applied most advantageously,

> to 231 cubic feet of wood in the course of the winter, or about 87 pounds a day. The daily supply which lies near the fire-place in the Yakutian yurts seems not to exceed this.

children in them, of both sexes, quite naked; they were, nevertheless, running about in this state to-day, when the thermometer was as low as —10° R., and even in the open air."

17: Erman--269-270 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 291, 171, 563, 177

"In the clothing of adults, there is manifested a strong predilection for bright colours, for the women in the house, as among the Buraets, wore clothes of green or other bright Chinese stuffs; while the men had on tight-fitting, short frocks, which closely resembled [270] the esquires' tabards in the middle ages. They were almost always made of white linen, with blue borders. At the lower end, behind, was a perpendicular slit, to prevent their incommoding on horseback. Even the fur caps of these people were covered with white linen, and adorned with squirrels' tails, and other black furs.

The few Russians who live at these stations to superintend the post, speak nothing but Yakutian among themselves, and are distinguishable from the indigenous population only by their greater length of face, their fairer complexion, and the comparative poverty of their clothing."

17: Erman--298-299 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-1-2
116, 291, 171, 281

"For winter travelling, the Yakuts, like the Ostyaks and Samoyedes, wear a fur frock, with the hair outside. Even here this outer garment is generally made of reindeer skins, yet the poorer people use for the same purpose the skins of slaughtered horses and oxen. To this garment is always given the form befitting the saddle, which I have mentioned before. It is trimmed round the edges with black furs, and is ornamented on the back with elaborate figures, in the same material. It is called sanayakh, a name given also to the over-coat of the women, which is, indeed, distinguished from that of the men only by its greater length; it is cut up behind, and adapted for riding, just like the other. During the milder part of the year, and for a long stay in the house, a garment of the same shape as the sanayakh, but made of extremely pliant leather, dyed yellow, is substituted for it. Yet it is not uncommon to find in the yurts men and women with the upper part of the body naked, when they return from the open air to the fire, or have just got up from their sleeping benches, for the cloaks are worn immediately nexf the breasts. Both sexes wear, moreover, on the lower part of the body, drawers of pliant reindeer skin, which, like those of the Ostyaks, reach from the loins to the middle of the thigh; leggins, which are fastened to the lower end of the drawers, and water-proof boots. This last, and most excellent, part of their dress, is called eterbàs, from which name the Russians here, who, decidedly and justly, prefer the Yakutian boots to European shoeing of any kind, have made torbasà. They fit every where close to the leg, and cover it from the sole of the foot to far above the knee; at the same time, owing to their perfect

pliability, they are as convenient, for pedestrians as for horsemen. That they may be at once flexible and water-proof, the torbasàs are always cut of thin horse-skin; which is steeped, in the first place, in sour milk, and smoked, and then rubbed well with fat and fine soot from the chimneys. The sole, also, is made of the same kind of leather; the seams are sewed inside, and towards the toe there is a point turned upwards, just as in the boots of the Bashkirs at the present day, and in those of Russian horsemen in the sixteenth century. But, on the other hand, these boots are without the high heels which make the walk of the Bashkir and Kirgiz so awkward and ungainly. Two long strings of leather are sewed to the torbasas at the bottom, to be fastened tight round [299] the leg, first at the ankle, and then, when they have been brought behind the calf, again under the knee, where their ends are tied together."

17: Erman--299 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 291, 171, 492

"The Yakuts use, for protection against the cold, a broad and serpentine tippet (in their language, moitruk) of black squirrel tails, gloves of fox fur (utélek,) and a cap (bergésa) of striped cloth, which covers the forehead and part of the face, with a bordering of glutton skin. I have observed with some Yakutian girls, a kind of leathern cushion, which they wore under the sanayakh and over the drawers. The object of this was, probably, to mitigate the hardships of riding on oxen; perhaps, too, it might be compared with a somewhat similar piece of dress worn by the Chuvashian women."

17: Erman--300 [2] N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 171, 325, 439, 294

"Some productions of Yakutian industry are purchased by the Russians, and sent into Europe, particularly floor-cloths of white and coloured felts, which are cut into narrow pieces, and them tastefully and symmetrically sewed together, like mosaic. It is a still weightier circumstance that these people have been able, from the earliest times, to procure themselves certain metals, and have known how to work them. The iron ore of Vilui is smelted and wrought in the yurts at that place, just in the same manner as at Tashkent, or as among the Buraet s and the Tatars of Kusnetsk."

17: Erman--323 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 171, 291

"The Tunguzes, and their neighbours, the Yakuts, fasten with glue, on the under side of the snow-shoe, a strip of horse-hide, with the hair turned backwards. Snow-shoes of this kind are here indispensable for the hunter, and for every one who wishes to quit the beaten road, as without them one sinks above the knee at every step."

17: Erman--325-326 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-1-2
116, 171, 293

"Another practice, common to all the Yakuts and Tunguzes, came more immediately under my observation on this day's journey, and in these yurts, although it was not till some days later that I was convinced by experiment of its importance. I allude to the means of protection against the dazzling light, and particularly from the sun's rays reflected from the snow. The Yakuts all use for this purpose a very neatly made, narrow-meshed net of black horse-hair. It is about six inches long, and broad enough to cover the eyes, and has its elliptical border sewed to a thin piece of leather in such a way, that the side turned to the face is a little concave. It is then fastened with thin leathern loops to the ear, so that it has exactly the look of our European [326] spectacles. One of these eye-protectors was given to me here as a present, and at first I thought of treasuring the friendly gift; but, as the weather grew bright, I found myself obliged to tie it over my spectacles. This simple contrivance moderated, in the most agreeable manner, the dazzling light which, in a few hours, had brought on a violent inflammation, with a continual flood of tears from my eyes. Here, therefore, no one thinks of going on a journey without a snow-shade. They are carried, with the other most necessary articles, in the girdle, and are generally used when the sky is quite clear, and the sun at a certain height. But, besides, I saw in Chernolyés, and at some of our previous halting places, old women wearing them to protect their eyes from the blaze of the fire, at which they are constantly employed. Perhaps their eyes had been previously weakened by worse trials, and so rendered irritable. The Siberian-Russians in general call the

17: Erman--325-326 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-2
116, 171, 293

snow-shade syetká, that is, net; a name very applicable to it, as made by the Yakuts, but not to another kind of shade, which is exclusively used by the Tunguzes."

17: Erman--330-331 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116; 306, 171, 177, 524

"When the work was finished, the girls began to employ themselves in the yurt with the business of decoration. In an elaborately made box of birch-bark they had treasured up some studs of brass and lead, beads, and old brass springs. These last were cut into small pieces, and strung with the studs and beads so ingeniously, that a very pretty ornament for the head was made with very poor materials. The Yakut had lent the girl his assistance in making this band, at her earnest request. I was more surprised at another of their amusements, respecting which, however, I subsequently learned, that it is much in vogue with all the Yakuts and Tunguzes. (1) A pack of cards, so much

1. The Tunguzes, in the circle of Koluimsk, are passionately fond of chess. They carve the chessmen very elaborately out of mammoth's teeth. These northern nomades probably received their acquaintance with this game, and taste for others, from China at a very early period.

worn out as to be hardly recognisable, was brought to light from a corner of the yurt. They played, two at a time, in turns, with-[331] out any stake, but very eagerly. The Russian names of the cards are those used here."

17: Erman--331-332 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 171, 584

"At last every one sought his berth for the night, having first provided himself with a lighted pipe. The girls took possession [332] of the narrow passage behind the fireplace, and after a little time I saw Daria's Yakutian friend follow them. It may be concluded, therefore, that between affianced Tunguzes, before the payment of the koluim, a kind of relationship subsists, like that known in Switzerland by the name of the kilchang; and from what I heard at Delgeisk on the Lena, it seems that the same custom prevails among the Yakuts."

27: Coxwell--287-288 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-1-2
116, 171, 539

"The plant mentioned early in the present story [RCH: see category 539, pp. 262-269] proves, as the story proceeds, to have been a maiden from heaven, who came to earth as a crane. Later the plant is turned again to a maiden, the heroine of the story. In the Russian story, 'The Fiend,' a girl, who not only is deprived of her relatives but who loses her own life at the hands of a fiend, because she persist [sic] in telling him an untruth, is reanimated as a flower which eventually changes into the maiden's form. Transmutation of [288] a human being into a plant or flower occurs elsewhere. In a German story a maiden is turned into a flower. A huntsman says, 'Father, will you see the maiden who brought me up so tenderly and who was afterwards to murder me, but did not do it, though her own life depended on it?' The king replied, 'Yes, I would like to see her.' The son said, 'Most gracious father, I will show her to you in the form of a beautiful flower,' and he thrust his hand in his pocket and brought forth a pink. Then the flower was changed into the beautiful maiden. (1) Another tale of the kind is the

1. Grimm, No. 76.

modern Greek, 'The Laurel Child'. (2) The classical example of Daphne, who was saved

2. Hahn, No. 21.

from Apollo's embrace by being turned into a laurel, will occur to everyone. Other kinds of transformation are common in these tales. In the Yukaghir, 'Tale of a Fabulous Old Man,' a youth, previously a tooth, is turned into a pair of boots, and in the Kirghiz, 'Fight between Father and Son,' the hero becomes a mountain. Some of the most curious transformations are those of curses into a camel and an ass (Altaian,) and of the sun's wife into a black-beetle (Chukchi). A man is changed into a needle in the Ostyak, 'Aspen-leaf,' in the Bashkir, 'The Water Nymph,' and in the Russian, 'Helen the Fair'; and a girl is changed to a lamp in the Chukchi, 'Tale of the Moon'; a girl becomes a spindle in a Lapp story. But by far the commonest transmutations are into animals; thus, a devoted brother and sister become at death two little birds in the forest (Kumuk); and the young mother, who being turned by a witch into a lynx, returns to human form on hearing her infant cry (White Russian). It is comparatively common for a human being in these folk-tales to become a bird (Kalmuck, Buryat, Ossetian, Bashkir, Mordvin, Yakut, Kumuk, Samoyede), or a horse (Kalmuck, Mordvin, Esthonian, Finn, Votyak), or even an ass (Kalmuck, Ossetian) or a bear (Lapp, Russian), or a dog (Mordvin, Ossetian)."

27: Coxwell--288-289 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-1-2
116, 171, 539

"The imposter-bride in this story is given so extravagantly repulsive an appearance as to bring home to us the difference in taste and mental outlook between the Mongol-Turkish races of Eastern Siberia and ourselves. When she places another person's skin upon her face, the incident is more realistically described than a somewhat similar incident in the German story, 'The Goose-girl.' Her iron tongue recalls 'The Woman with an Iron Tail,' in one of Rasmussen and Worster's [289] Eskimo Folk-Tales. But the ancient Indian stories contain many horrible descriptions of rakshasas. That a devil's daughter of such characteristics should pass herself off as a khan's bride is an indication of the irrationality creeping into some folk-tales. In the Bashkir story, 'Aleyka,' a young wife has her clothes stolen by her child's nurse, and in consequence flies away as a goose. The nurse tells the husband that his wife was drowned, and before long he marries her. In the Mordvin story, 'The Wicked Girl,' a girl takes away her mistress' clothes, and at the end of the journey (the pair are proceeding on a visit) passes herself off as her mistress, and is so received on account of her fine raiment. When her crime is discovered the culprit is punished, as in the Yakut tale, by being fastened to the tail of a horse. In 'The Goose-girl' the action is much the same, though less simple. A young bride is sent with her maid to the bridegroom The maid forces the mistress to quench her thirst at the water's edge, and seeing that the mistress has become weak through loss of a talisman, makes her exchange garments, mounts her mistress' horse and, at the journey's end, passes as the bride. Eventually all is set right and the maid

suffers a cruel death. (1)

1. Grimm, No. 86."

27: Coxwell--289 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 171, 539, 772

"The wedding sports at the end of the story [RCH: see category 539, pp. 262-269; for other Yakut tales mentioned see category 539, pp. 281-285] are remarkable. They were attended by ancestral dwellers from the upper regions, the air, and by ancestral dwellers from the regions below ground. But such details are less astonishing if viewed in the light of the Yakut story, 'Black Hawk.' There shamans are sent from heaven, and a super-natural hero descends from heaven with ninety demon heroes. So again in 'Dyoudus' there is close communication with heaven. Shamans come from heaven in the Yukaghir, 'The Shaman.' In the Chukchi, 'A Folk-Tale,' there is an allusion to a higher people living in a small, dark, separate country."

27: Coxwell--289-290 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 171, 539, 825

"At the end of the fourth Samoyede story there occurs an account of a seven days' journey through the air; while in the Chukchi, 'Tale of a Dead Head,' there is a visit of a family to the higher regions; and in the Lapp 'Cap of Invisibility,' a journey is taken to the stars. With such movements of living persons through vast spaces of air it is natural that ancestral spirits should reside above as well as below ground.

It is not only among the Yakuts that a myth exists concerning a heavenly crane. Among the Ainus the crane is of [290] much importance and is worshipped. According to a legend, a crane came down from heaven, and one day, in the absence of the parent bird, people determined to obtain the young ones from the nest in order to offer a sacrifice. They took not only the young, but the garments found neatly folded beneath them. 'Some hunters say that even now clothes may be found in the nests of cranes.'"

27: Coxwell--292-293 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut-1-2
116, 171, 539, 772

"Accessibility of the upper regions, or heaven, is common to Chukchi, the Ostyak, the Samoyede and the Lappish tales. But if we may judge from the present story, [RCH: see category 539, pp. 274-80] the Yakuts make a special feature of a middle region between earth and heaven, where climatic conditions are perfect and life is a perpetual delight. In 'The Little Old Woman' ancestral spirits from an upper region attended wedding festivities on earth.

The raven, who dwelt in heaven, as related in the Yakut story 'Dyoudus', agreed to send his son and daughter from heaven that they might form alliances with Dyoudus' daughter and son. The pair travelled by the aid of raven horses, a mode of conveyance mentioned in the Russian, 'Tale of a Goat.' In the Russian story, 'Golden Mountain,' ravens carry the carcase of a horse and a man inside it to the summit of a mountain, but in the Bashkir version the task is performed by an eagle.

Such a legend as the 'Story of the Mighty Hero Keese-Sanyach and his Son' is an instance of the heroic tales whose cult is shared by the Altaians, the Kirghiz and others. It is true that side by side with this story there can exist such a tale as 'Dyoudus,' which contains coarse and barbarous details. Similarly, the Chukchis have poetical, though irrational, tales at the same time as they possess certain stories necessarily excluded from this book The mind of the Siberian barbarian appears full of contradictions to those who have advanced beyond him. Meanwhile, the Yakuts can call a maiden 'Tender

27: Coxwell--292-293 B-3 (no date) 1925 Yakut -2
116, 171, 539, 772

as Milk,' and the Ostyaks can name a hero, 'Active and Restless as an Aspen-leaf,' an Esthonian hero (who had once mated with a chicken) can be summoned to desist from re-[293]moving a stone by flowers, bushes, trees and birds; and a Chukchi can liken tears to gently falling rain."

37: Dobell--308 G-2 (1812-13) 1830 Yakut
116, 171, 291, 301

"The Tongusees and Yakuts dress much alike, particularly the women, wearing abundance of ornaments. Their hair, that hangs in two or three braids behind, is stuck over with small copper or silver plates, more or less rich, in proportion to the fortune of the wearer. Sometimes a silver or copper plate is placed on the forehead. They occasionally wear a close cap, likewise adorned with plates and beads, and often ornament their boots with beads of various colours, having much the appearance of the work on the Wampum belts of the North American savages."

38: Dobell--13-14 G-2 (1812-13) 1830 Yakut
116, 171,174, 212

"As Yakutsk is the spot where the Yakuts, who are supposed to have migrated from some other part of Siberia, first made a settlement, I take this opportunity of giving to the readers what I have been able to collect on the subject of this horde, whose Tartar origin, according to my eyes, seems indisputably stamped in their features. There are credible proofs to adduce of their being descended from the Mongols, but their most probable origin is Tartar. On application to the chiefs of the horde, very little [14] light has been thrown on this subject, as they have no books, or written documents of any sort, and what has been derived from oral tradition is too imperfect and unconnected to afford any very satisfactory information. Their manners and customs resemble those of the Burettas: and indeed those of the Siberian tribes generally are very similar. The following facts however [RCH: see catagory 116, pp. 14-18] serve to establish the opinion of their having been descended from a race of Tartars living on the frontiers of the Government of Tobolsk, who call themselves Sagay, and who occupy a portion of the Barabinsky Step; or also from a tribe of Tartars of the same description living about Krasnoyarsk."

43: Karutz--74 [2] E-2 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 171, 342, 414

Those who still own reindeer wander around during the summer according to the opportunities of fishing, reindeer and goose killing, and of trapping during the winter; they then live in tents. However, they incline to settledness and build solid cabins of oblique posts, with a plastering of loam and dung and, finally, mud. The windows are made of reindeer bladder. The doors are locked by means of those strange wooden locks, which consist of square pieces of wood falling into appropriate holes, and which are used all over Western Asia, Europe, and Northern Africa.

43: Karutz--74 [6] E-2 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 171, 241, 262

The Yakuts are not only cattle-breeders, but also occupy themselves a little with agriculture.

They live primarily on grain, which is replaced by a meal of grits made of ground larch bark among the poor;they live also on meat, butter, cream, sour mare milk (kumys) (the old product of Turkish nomad civilization), and finally on the usual herbs and berries found in Siberia.

46: Cottrell--138 T-2 (1840) 1842 Yakut
171

"Their usual beverage in summer is the kumysse, made of fermented mares'-milk, which the Kirghis also drink. . . . "

46: Cottrell--140-141 T-2 (1840) 1842 Yakut -1-2
116, 171, 789, 821

"All classes at Yakutsk, both high and low, are firmly persuaded that they have the power of producing at will rain or cool wind, for neither more nor less than nine successive days, when the proper forms are gone through to procure it. The stone must be well authenticated as having been found in the stomach of an animal; the more savage the beast, the more efficacious is the stone, so that one found in a bear is the most highly prized; then that in a wolf, &c., &c.; a horse, or any domestic animal, considerably less so. It is called the ssatà, and the manner of using it is simple enough, and has no pretension to sorcery, or any of the black arts, like their professors, who pretend to divine the future destinies of their dupes. To procure rain, the person must rise before the sun, and the instant he catches a glimpse of it above the horizon, dip the stone in spring water, and holding it between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, present it to the orb of day. At the same time he must make three pirouettes in the direction opposite to that of the course of this luminary, and the charm is completed. In order to obtain a cool wind for nine days, the ssatà must be dipped in the blood of a bird or beast recently killed, and presented to the sun with the same turnings as before. All those who travel in this country in the [141] summer, are tormented by the heat and insects, which are almost intolerable. As soon as they leave a town, they send a Yakut, with the commission to find some one who possesses this treasure, and when he is found, for a few ounces of tobacco the process is gone through the following

morning, and the traveller has nothing more to fear for nine days from the heat or musquitoes. We possess one of these charmed pebbles, which was given to Mr. de Hedenström by a golová of Verkhoyansk, and was found in the paunch of a wolf. It is a round piece of quartz, not transparent, about the size of a marble, which possibly had been washed in some mountain stream for centuries, till it became perfectly smooth and round, and was swallowed by a wolf who came to drink. Its virtues, however, have never been tested since it went out of the golová's possession; but Mr. de Hedenström is convinced of the man's sincerity, when he assured him it was found in a wolf. That this superstition is of very ancient date, and is derived from the Huns, we have the authority of Gibbon, who says that Attila was dreaded, not only as a warrior, but as a magician, and that he, by this means, vanquished the Khan of the Gèougen. The fears of the Gèougen had reference to some such apparent act of sorcery as this, for they believed that the Huns could excite at pleasure storms of wind and rain. This phenomenon is stated in the history of Timur Beg to have been produced by a stone called gezî, to whose magic power the loss of a battle was also ascribed by the Mahometan Tatars of the fourteenth century."

49: Findeisen-- 10 [3] E-1 (no date) 1930 Yakut
116, 171, 291

Accompanied by the Tunguses they go to the mountains to hunt animals which yield furs. The winter clothing of a practical hunter is almost the same as the Tungus clothing. During the summer and fall he wears a long waistcoat, trousers and boots of elk hide.

/130 cont./
122 provided almost our only food, in view of the lack of reindeer
123 meat. In laying out the nets, Boldonó used his own boat,
which held our attention because it was made out of poplar
114 wood. That is, in Middendorff (1) /131/ there is a note that
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131] along the streams flowing into the Arctic Ocean west of the Olenék there are poplar boats, the material for which comes from the alluvial islands of the Olenék. Now, however, along the Olenék we had come across neither the aromatic poplar (Populus suaveolens Fisch.), which barely reaches the Tunguska (along it only one specimen was known to the population in the vicinity of Podwolótschnaja /Podvoloshnaya/ as a great rarity and this fell as an offering to science in 1873), nor the aspen (Populus tremula L.), which likewise has its arctic boundary much more to the south. To be sure, we heard that the first-named poplar occurs on some tributaries of the Olenék, indeed, even very far to the north, namely on the little Tyrachtán River, which empties into the Nákukyt River, therefore probably about 70° latitude, but it is said to be very rare everywhere and of so little thickness that it cannot be used for any kind of work. Therefore where did those poplar boats come from? Boldonó's boat came from the Lena, brought from there by his father. If Middendorff's statement does not simply rest on an error, he perhaps means the islands at the mouth of the Olenék, where possibly poplar trunks from the more easterly Siberian rivers, but not from the Olenék, might have been deposited by the sea.

1. Sibirische Reise /Siberian Journey/, Vol. IV, Part 1, No. 4, p. 572.

122 On August 17 we saw a young reindeer on the bank and
123 soon afterward a human dwelling. A stop was made, and while I quickly made my magnetic observations, for which I now rarely found time, Boldonó went across the river and after some time appeared in the company of an oldish Jakuten /Yakut/. We had hoped to acquire in him a talkative successor to our all too silent guide, but in vain. Even less could be gotten out of

/176 cont./

entering the balagan we were received by the ladies of the house. They had, of course, put on their most beautiful finery; we were struck in particular by the very large silver earrings, which, by the way, are also fashionable among the wealthy Tungus women along the Tunguska and are also acquired there from the Jakuten /Yakut/. After the strenuous tundra trip we made ourselves comfortable at the roaring fire of the fireplace, heartily glad that from here we could, with a good conscience, turn back toward the south, toward home. We had hoped to be here two months earlier -- the reader has learned with what /177/ great difficulties we had made it possible to be here now. /The remainder of p. 177, pp. 178-180, and the first paragraph of p. 181 are omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. Page 181 continues as follows./

Of the living scientists only one had come farther than we on the mainland of Asia -- indeed, by almost three degrees of latitude -- Middendorff at the mouth of the Taimyr. We also did not forget the dead -- the intrepid mariners, Charitón Láptew /Laptev/, Prόntschischtschew /Prontschischev/, Tscheljúskin /Chelyúskin/, and others who had trod this ground almost a century and a half before us undertook from here their daring journeys to explore the coasts of the Arctic Ocean and for the most part also paid here for their zeal with their lives. All our searchings for their graves, for remains of their dwellings, were in vain. On the rocks which Czekanowsky climbed there were in several places remains of old dwelling sites -- whether of theirs remained doubtful. Every tradition of that noble expedition paid for with such tremendous sacrifices /182/ has been lost among the inhabitants (1). At that time Russian peasants probably lived

1. So it in fact appeared to us, but in the following year Czekanowsky found the inhabitants of Boljkalák much more communicative. They showed him the graves of Prόntschischtschew and his courageous wife, who had followed him into this desolate place. On the last rock on the right shore of the

/193 cont./

122 iron stove, which we should no longer need in the yurts, as well
123 as our supplies and kitchen utensils, we presented to our friendly hostess, who could make good use of them. She also wanted to keep our dog Waltusch, but we could not bear to leave our faithful companion on two such difficult expeditions here in this climate obviously unfavorable to him and carried out our resolve to take him back to Irkutsk to his well-earned rest. He is now living out the rest of his days in quiet contemplation with a butcher there. According to the custom of the country, Mrs. Rjeschétnikow insisted on giving us a present in return and provided us with some fine fish for the trip. In addition, Czekanowsky received a Russian-style fur cap, the crown of which was made of dark fox
[291] paws and the brim of river beaver. I was given a Jakut /Yakut/ fur hood, likewise of fox paws and lined with squirrel skins, and a pair of huge mittens of the same kind of fur, beautifully embroidered at the wrists and provided with an opening through which
• [171] one could put out one's hand without taking off the mitten. This extremely practical mitten is found /194/ throughout northern Siberia and is to be recommended to European soldiers and hunters.

493 During the cold season persons of rank here travel in com-
(484) pletely covered narten /Russ. narta, "sled"/, into which one crawls
[554] from the front and then, wrapped in soft and warm skins and covers, sleeps through the entire journey. They are so low that sitting up is impossible, and, of course, it is equally impossible to see anything of the region through which one passes -- reason enough for us to forgo this comfort and be content with our narten used up to now, equipped only with a kibitka.

122 On the afternoon of November 5 we took cordial leave of Mrs.
[132] Rjeschétnikow and drove off in a northerly direction, with a temperature of about -33° R., which during the night even dropped to -38° R. On the way we visited the family of our guide Atschkássow, with whom we exchanged a few presents, and on the evening of the following day reached some yurts which bear the name Kŭssŭr /Kyusyur/ and lie on the right shore of the river, diagonally across from the larger village of Bulún, the chief place on the lower Lena. We chose to stop here because our

122 /217 cont./

repugnance against all spirits during the intervals. If a true-Siberian at a reception -- and, according to the custom of the country this takes place in connection with every visit in the form of a so-called sakússka, i.e., a variety of spirits along with the necessary spiciest possible morsels to bite on (the direct translation of sakússka) /218/ -- does not accept the customary grain spirits (otschísch-tschennoje, i.e., purified, sc. whisky), but excuses himself in embarrassment, the chances are at least ten to one that he is a victim of sapoí. The drinking of spirits in itself, even within limits that somewhat exceed those customary in Europe, does not seem to be harmful in any way here, but rather to be strengthening, particularly for Europeans and their descendants. The fact is, as I can testify from my own experience and that of many of my European acquaintances, that the intoxicating effect of spirits is much weaker in Siberia than in Europe. Czekanowsky and I were emaciated during the Olenék expedition, on which we had to get along without any alcoholic beverages at all for about half a year, but with quite adequate nourishment
273 on the whole otherwise. Liquor certainly does not, however,
● 171 have this beneficial influence on the indigenous tribes and has a very intoxicating effect on them. I do not know whether the substitutes used in its place by the various Siberian peoples have more beneficial effects. The Burjaten /Buryat/ in southern Siberia get drunk on tarassún, a milk liquor with a most horrible taste; the Tschuktschen /Chukchee/, on a decoction of fly agaric; the Jakuten /Yakut/ even on enormous quantities of butter which they devour in a liquid state by the pood (pood = 40 pounds) and thus put themselves into a drunken-like stupor. /The last paragraph on p. 218, pp. 219-229, and the first paragraph on p. 230 are omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. Page 230 continues as follows./

122 On the next day /December 1/ we reached the last station,
133 Kŏng-urách, before the watershed of the Werchojansk /Verkhoyansk/ Range. The mountains came ever closer to our route, but the ascent was so gradual that without watching the barometer we could scarcely have imagined that we were ascending a high range and
800 would soon be at the height of the pass. At this station we met the

/250/

439 136 Furs were also relatively expensive and difficult to procure. I paid 22 rubles for a truly very beautiful silver fox (ssiwodúschka; the blacker and more expensive ones are called tschórno-búrije lissízi, the wholly black, very rare ones, tschórnije), 15 rubles for one not quite so good, which showed a few reddish parts in the wool hair, whereas the corresponding prices on the summer market were supposed to be about 15 and 9 rubles. For 20 rubles I bought a fine cap sewed together out of black fox paws (for a so-called boyar cap). We were also offered true beaver skins (Castor fiber) from Kolýmsk, which, since they were shown to us frozen, we were inclined to take for calf skins, but we were told that the long red hair would later be removed and that the skin would then have its usual appearance. It is true that beaver is still found in the Kolýmsk district, but many skins that come on the market under the name of Kolýmsk may have been traded by the Tschuktschen /Chukchee/ and come from America.

136 171 I should like to note here that in Europe various skins come on the market under the name of beaver. The most expensive so-called beaver, called kamtschátskij bobjór in Russia, i.e., Kamchatka beaver, is actually not beaver at all, but a sea animal -- the sea otter (Enhydris marina), which is found only in the northern part of the Pacific Ocean and is becoming extinct even there as a result of its completely unregulated capture, at least in former years. The skin, almost black in color, velvet-like, and covered with gray overhair, is one of the most beautiful and highly prized furs, and a good skin is supposed to bring a couple of hundred rubles on the spot. The true beaver (Castor fiber), which formerly was found almost throughout Europe, Asia, and North America, but now /251/ occurs in only a few places in Europe and mostly on preserves there, just as it has also almost died out in Siberia and is still captured, as was said, only in the district of Kolýmsk and, in addition, in North America, has a very poor-looking skin, which in Russia comes on the market under the name of njemétzkij bobjór, i.e., German beaver. In addition there

136 /251 cont./
171 are many other more or less similar kinds of skins sold as beaver skins -- they are called false beaver.

132 Before I acquaint the reader in the following with the most interesting results of the local agriculture, I must first tell him the monthly mean temperatures for Jakutsk /Yakutsk/, derived from observations for almost 35 years, which I am taking from the previously cited work of Academician Wild, Die Temperatur-Verhältnisse des russischen Reichs /The Temperature Conditions of the Russian Empire/ (St. Petersburg, 1881). They are given in Celsius degrees for the months in new style.

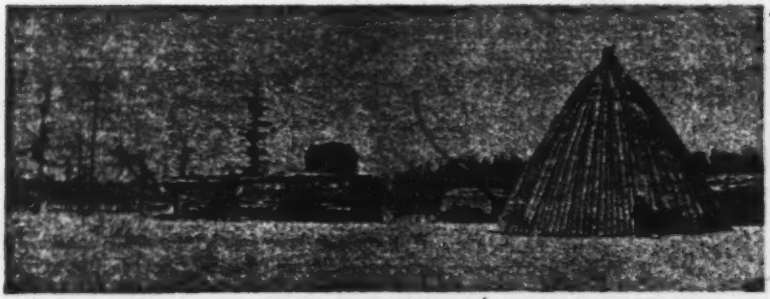
Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July
-42.8	-37.3	-23.7	-9.6	4.5	14.6	18.8

Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year
15.5	5.6	-9.1	-29.8	-40.5	-11.2

The extremes are: maximum 38.8 C. = 31.0 R. in July, and -62.0 C. = -49.6 R. in January. The terrible cold of winter therefore corresponds to a very intense heat during the short summer. In order to characterize this specifically Siberian climate still more, I want to point out that my native city, Riga, which lies at about 57° latitude and has a mean temperature of +6.0 C., is somewhat cooler than Jakutsk in July, and the maxima are never equivalent to the Siberian ones.

241 I can say with complete justice that it is to this eccentric climate that Jakutsk owes its rich harvest of almost all the field crops found farther south. In any case it took great courage to count on such success here and to obtain it by force through years of toil /252/ against all prejudices, and I therefore regard it as my duty to preserve the memory of the name of the first local farmer, which we discovered. He was a discharged junior clerk, later community clerk, Konstantin Andréjewitsch Bolkáschin, whose first efforts are said to date from the year 1819. Not until 1825, on a piece of land worked by his own hands with a hoe, which he sowed with two poods of barley, did he succeed in getting a twenty-fold yield and through that aroused

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2



Summer birchbark dwelling and six-cornered house.

There was another type of construction found among the Yakuts (either as a dwelling or as a cattle stall); it was a six- or eight-cornered log yurt with a pyramidal roof, identical to the well-known Buryat and Khakas structures. These yurts were observed, for example, in the regions near the mouth of the Vilyuy, in the Meginskiy and Borogonskiy ulusy, as well as in the Kolymskiy Okrug. They have been known since the 18th century.

During the 19th century the Russian type of structure—the log hut—gradually came into use among the Yakuts, particularly the better off people. At the beginning of the 20th century there were many such houses, particularly in areas near towns. A mixed type was often found: for example, a log hut built onto a yurt, a log hut with a Yakut hearth, and so on.

The living quarters and farm buildings of the family and the space surrounding them constituted the farmstead, which was fenced off with a solid fence of horizontal poles without any gates (in order to get inside the poles at one spot were removed from their supports, or else people simply stepped over them). Inside the enclosure were posts for tying up horses, and these were skillfully carved. In the summer camps the farms were often close together.

When speaking of structures, we should also mention the fact that in the old days the Yakuts knew how to make fortifications or ostrozhki, as they were called in the Russian texts of the 17th century. For example, in 1636–1637, during the campaign against the Kangalastsy, the Russian Cossacks found that "they had built strong forts with two walls covered with gravel, and surrounded by snow and water;" it was only after a two-day assault that the Cossacks managed to take one of these forts. In 1642 the Russians also took a Yakut fortress after great difficulty: ". . . the fort was made with two walls, the space between the walls was filled with earth, and there were log towers." At a later stage these fortifications disappeared, and no one has described them since in detail. But even in the 19th century it was possible to find special tower-like barns here and there, which belonged to the Toyons.

Clothing

The national Yakut costume had only been partly preserved by the beginning of the 20th century, having been replaced by Russian clothing or at least strongly influenced by the latter. The national cut and purely Yakut materials were preserved to a greater extent in the winter clothing.

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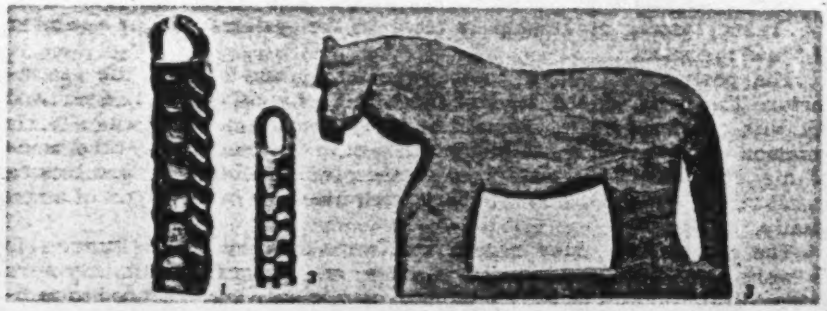

Wooden toys: 1—ox, 2—cow; 3—horse.

771 the toyons, were zealous Christians. Actually, this is understandable, since Christianity was far better suited than shamanism to satisfying the class interests of the rich people. Nevertheless, the old, pre-Christian religion did not entirely disappear, and the older beliefs, although somewhat modified through the influence of Christian ideas, still kept their hold; and the shamans, the ministers of the old cult, still enjoyed authority, although they were forced to some extent to conceal their activities from the tsarist administrators and Orthodox clergy. Shamanism and the animistic beliefs associated with it seem to have been the most persistent element of the old Yakut religion.

756 The Yakut shamanism was closest of all to the Tungus type. The
● 171 Yakut shaman tambourine (wide-rimmed and oval) was exactly the same as the Tungus tambourine; the costume was also the Tungus type, except that the Yakut shamans officiated with uncovered heads. The similarity involved more than just their outward appearance; it also showed up in the more important details of the beliefs and rituals.

756 The Yakut shaman (oyuun) was considered the professional attendant of the spirits. According to Yakut belief, anyone chosen by the spirits to serve them could become a shaman, but the shamans were usually from the same families: "in a clan where a shaman has once appeared, he does not pass away," said the Yakuts. Apart from men shamans, there were also women shamans (*yðaŋan*), who were considered to be
[753] even more powerful. A sign of readiness to adopt the profession of shaman was a nervous ailment, which was interpreted as evidence that the person had been "elected" by the spirits; this was followed by a period of training under the guidance of an old shaman, and finally by a ritual public consecration.

756 It was thought that the spirit electing the shaman became his patron
776 spirit (emeget), and that it was the soul of an important shaman who had died earlier. Its image in the form of a flat copper effigy was worn among the other pendants with the shaman costume; the image was also called an emeget. The patron spirit imbues the shaman with strength and knowledge. The shaman sees and hears only through his emeget. Besides the latter, every shaman has his own animal double (iye-kyyl, "mother beast") in the form of an invisible eagle, stallion, bull, bear and so on. Finally, besides these personal spirits, every shaman was associated with a number of other spirits in human or bestial form when casting his spells. The different categories of spirits associated with the shaman's activity had their own specific names.

[753] The most important and largest group of spirits were the abaahy (or abaasy), devouring spirits to whose activity certain diseases were attributed.

attributed. The believing Yakuts considered that the cure of disease by a shaman actually consisted in elucidating which abaasy had caused the disease, battling against them or offering them a sacrifice, and expelling them from the patient. According to shamanistic belief, the abaasy lived in tribes or clans partly in the "upper" and partly in the "lower" world, as well as in the "middle" world, the earth.

The spirits living in the "upper" world were offered sacrifices of horses, and those in the "lower" world of cattle. Close to the abaasy were the [illegible], evil spirits, for the most part minor ones, who were the souls of people who had died prematurely or violently, and also the souls of deceased shamans, sorcerers and so on. The ability to cause people harm was attributed to these spirits, but they also lived in the "middle" world (on the earth and around it). The beliefs about them are very close to the Russian superstitions regarding "unclean" or possessed dead persons. Small spirits called kelens were considered to assist the shaman to do various tricks while he was performing.

Among the important deities in the shamanistic pantheon first place is taken by the powerful and awe-inspiring Uluu-Toyon, who was head of the "upper" world spirits and patron of shamans: "he created the shaman and taught him to fight against all evils; he gave people fire." Living in the upper world (on the western side of the third heaven), Uluu-Toyon was also able to come down to earth in the form of larger animals such as the bear, elk, ox or black stallion. Below Uluu-Toyon were other more or less powerful deities, each of which had its own name and epithet, its residence and its special interest. Examples of these are Ala Buuray Toyon (Arsan Duolay or Allara-Ogon'or, "the old man from underground"), head of the underground abaasy, creator of everything harmful and unpleasant, Aan Arbatyy Toyon (or Arkhakh Toyon), who caused consumption and so on.

The presence of the important deities in the shamanistic pantheon of the Yakuts distinguishes their shamanism from the Tungus type (the Tungus did not believe in the important gods to a very large extent) and brings it close to the shamanism of the Altay-Sayan peoples. Generally speaking, it is a feature of a later stage of the development of shamanism.

The main duties of the shamans were to "cure" sick people and animals and to "avert" all catastrophies. Their devices could be reduced to casting spells (accompanied by singing, dancing, banging of a tambourine, and so on), usually at night, during which the shaman worked himself into a frenzy and, according to Yakut superstition, his soul flew up to join the spirits, or else the spirits entered his body; his magic enabled him to overcome and chase out the wicked spirits, to learn about the sacrifices required by the spirits, to make them, and so on. On the side, during the ritual the shaman became a diviner, answering various questions put to him by the onlookers, and also showing various magic tricks which were supposed to increase his authority and make people more frightened of him.

In return for his offices the shaman received a fee, particularly if his spells were successful, which usually varied between 1 ruble and 25 rubles or more. Furthermore, the shaman was always given food and drink and allowed to eat the sacrificial meat, part of which he sometimes took home. Although the shamans usually had their own households, which were at times of quite a size, the fee for their magic constituted a considerable item of their income. The shaman's demand for a sacrifice was a great burden to the population.

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
• Dolgan

somewhat to the north of this boundary. The migration from winter to summer camps and back was made in the spring or fall. 221

In winter, the families of Noril'sk and Popigay Dolgans lived apart from one another, often singly. The remainder still continued to nomadize along the northern edge of the forest and formed the chain of "stations" of the winter Noril'sk-Popigay highway; this consisted of groups of 5–10 households, some of the stations comprising groups of permanent dwellings. But since reindeer require frequent change of pasture, the camps of separate families and the entire stations, and the reindeer-herders living in the Russian-type houses as well, had to change their place of residence several times during the course of the winter. 361 221

As spring approached and the camps broke up, the Dolgans formed into nomadic groups. These groups were combined on a territorial basis and were bound by common economic interests. Associations of this kind meant that a smaller number of herdsmen was required for the reindeer since it took fewer people to look after a large herd than several small ones. In the spring, as soon as the grass appeared, and in the summer, during the season of the mosquitoes and other harmful insects, the Dolgans watched their herds the whole day through, appointing sentries from each household in turn. The nomadic Dolgans wandered along lakes, rivers and mountains. In the autumn, when the insects disappeared, each group of nomads divided up once more into separate families, which then nomadized in the region of their polar-fox traps, setting them again for the winter, or else hunted singly for wild reindeer until it was time to go back to the camps. [233]

The reindeer-breeding of the Dolgans combined the traditions of the Tungus breeding for purposes of riding, with devices and techniques borrowed from the herders of the Samoyedic groups. Thus, the Dolgans used reindeer both for riding and carrying (in summer) and at the same time made extensive use of reindeer sled-teams (in winter). But even in the first half of the 19th century the Dolgans in some parts only used their reindeer for riding. The various types of sleds are fundamentally similar to the Nennish and Nganasan types, but they also have the Yakut type with its low, straight staves. The harnessing technique differed from that of the Nentsy; the lead reindeer is harnessed and controlled by the rein on the right, whereas among the Nentsy, Entsy and Nganasans the lead reindeer is harnessed and controlled by the left-hand rein (it should be noted in this connection that the Evenks and Dolgans, even when riding reindeer, mount from the right and also guide it from the right). The system of milking reindeer, typical of the Evenks, was retained by the Dolgans; like the Nentsy and Nganasans they also used herd dogs. The saddles and riding techniques of the Dolgans were of the Tungus type. 233 177 492 [171]

The Dolgans hunted polar fox, wild reindeer and various wildfowl including duck, geese and partridge. Until quite recently they still used bows and arrows for the purpose, obtaining them from the Kets, via the Russians, and also from the Yakuts and southern Evenks. The Dolgans also had self-triggered bows for killing reindeer, which they set up in the forest preserves east of the Khatanga. According to legend, in the remote past the Dolgans used to hunt reindeer with slings and throwing-arrows. 224 [173]

The Dolgans attributed great importance to collective reindeer spearing in the autumn at river crossings, and to various hunting techniques with guns (which replaced the old bow and arrow). In the winter, the animals were hunted by means of specially trained decoy reindeer. In the winter they hunted reindeer with guns and bows and arrows almost entirely by the chasing technique: 4 strong reindeer were harnessed to a light sled and the herd was trailed for hours on end. Another form of winter hunting

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

421 was considered collective property, particularly in summer when several households nomadized together. Having killed a wild reindeer, the hunter 224 was expected to give up the skin and meat to the families of his group, but 226 keep the head and neck for himself. During the collective trapping of geese or spearing of wild reindeer a representative was chosen to make the division, and everything caught was divided up by families, according to the number of members.

224 The sites to be used by the nomadic groups for their summer hunting and fishing were decided in the spring, before the mosquitoes appeared. The heads of the groups would agree on the places where their own kin would hunt. Under this system each group hunted in new areas each year. Ownership of the polar-fox traps took a different form. The traps were private property. When setting new traps "behind" (i.e., to the south of) the old ones, no permission was required, but if they were set "in front of" the old ones (to the north), whence the polar fox came, it was essential to have the permission of the owner of the old traps, since when the foxes came down, they would be caught chiefly in the new ones. It was not forbidden to hunt other animals at the sites of the traps.

601 The system of kinship among the Dolgans was the classificatory type, 882 and the terms used for kinship were Yakut. The family was of the patriarchal type, but the young people enjoyed great freedom until they married.

771 Although the Dolgans were considered Christians and observed the ex- 776 ternal, ritualistic aspects of Russian Orthodoxy, they also retained their old animistic beliefs. Deities and spirits were divided into three categories (the same as for the Yakuts): ichchi, or incorporeal, invisible beings, who brought to life anything which they entered; ayyy or spirits well-disposed towards humans; abaasy or spirits hostile towards humans and causing various sicknesses and misfortunes; these lived in the earth and in the underworld. A person was believed to get sick and die because the abaasy had stolen his soul and carried it away to the underworld, and then, in- 756 vading the person, proceeded to eat him. The guardians of the people against the wicked spirits and mediators between humans and spirits were [171] the oyun or shamans. The shaman garb and tambourine among the Dolgans were the same as among the Evenks.

776 In their religion the Dolgans worshipped the so-called saytaans. The saytaans could take a great variety of forms, for example, a stone of unusual shape or an ugly wild-deer antler. Any object could be a saytaan if a shaman commanded a spirit, ichchi, to enter it. The saytaans were greatly revered both as family and hunting patrons.

764 The Dolgans buried their dead in the ground. The western (Noril'sk) [531] Dolgans did not usually erect a log structure over the grave, but only left a mound of earth onto which they felled a tree. The eastern Dolgans built log structures over the grave, which they often embellished with intricate carving. A reindeer was slaughtered near the grave and the clothing in which the deceased had died was either left on the ground or hung on the tree.

Folklore

538 The indigenous folklore of the Dolgans was represented by riddles, tales, historical legends, epic poems and stories of everyday life—the latter constituting the predominant type. The stories tell of the nomadic life of the Dolgans in all its real, everyday context. They are brief, but extremely varied in content. Very popular were stories of animals—their origin, their metamorphosis into people and back again. A particular group was composed

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

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Women's chestpiece embroidered with colored beads.

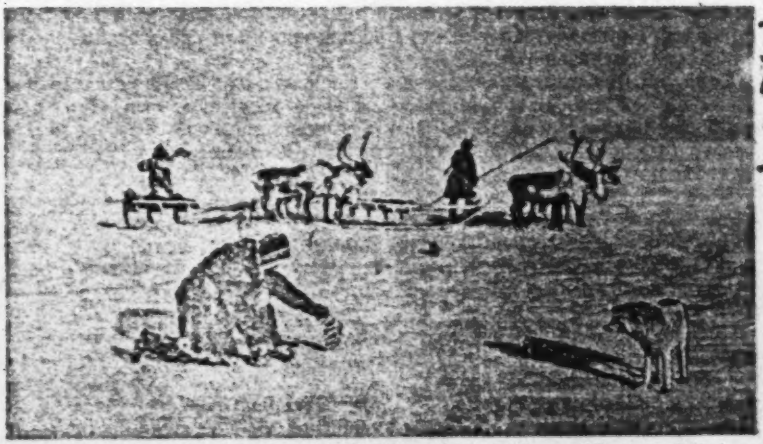
of tales called ustuoruya (from the Russian word "istoriya" or history), in which the heroes were Russian merchants, poor state-owned peasants, Ivan Tsarevich and other characters from Russian fairytales. Their plots are also close to those of the Russian tales. The historical legends tell of journeys to strange countries and the unusual adventures involved. Some of them are close in content to the legends of the Olenek Khosun epic.

Both in theme and in method of narration, the epic tales were very close to the Yakut olonkho and were even called by the same name. They often describe a way of life alien to the Dolgans; they mention horses and cows, but hardly ever mention reindeer. Their theme is the struggle between heroes and persons consorting with evil spirits. The dialogues, just as in the Yakut epic tales, were sung. Dolgan songs are either short (lyrical) or long. The former were not performed by professionals, and the composers and performers were usually boys and girls. The long songs were performed by highly gifted improvisers or "songsters," who were relatively few and far between.

The storytellers were regarded as the elite, chosen by the good deities and spirits. Gifted storytellers created their own schools and whole generations of young storytellers studied under them. According to the old beliefs of the Dolgans, all the images drawn by the storytellers could be turned into visible images or shadows. This belief in the ability of the storyteller to re-create real images by his words was exploited by the Dolgan shamans to make their methods of "curing" the sick more convincing. Sometimes, to determine which spirit the disease had come from, the shaman would send for a storyteller. The latter would begin telling an epic tale as dusk fell. As soon as the hero of the tale began to gain the upper hand over his adversary, the spirit which had allegedly been eating the patient began to emerge to help his brother spirit. As soon as he saw the evil spirit and knew what kind it was, the shaman cast a spell, now knowing what he had to do to cure the sick person. During heavy epidemics shamans often resorted to the help of the storytellers by asking them to spend evenings telling stories in which all the adventures of the heroes had [224] a happy ending. Since it was considered that the images in the epic tales became visible, in the spring, when the geese arrived, no stories were recounted so that the images would not frighten the geese. To avoid frightening wild deer, stories were not told on the eve of the hunt.

534 The Dolgans had no musical instruments. It was only at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries that the Yakut jew's-harp began to

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan



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Setting bait for foxes. "Victory" collective farm, Khatangskiy Rayon, Taymyr National Okrug.

become common. The art of dancing was practically unknown to the Dolgans. 534
Like the Evenks, they only had rounds (with the refrain "kheyro") in which 535
the men and women went round and round, leading each other by the arm 171
and stamping on the ground.

The graphic art of the Dolgans was of an applied nature. Both festive 531
and ordinary clothing was richly ornamented with beads or appliquéd with 294
narrow strips of colored material. Patterned embroidery with deerhair on suede dyed red with an infusion of alder bark or ochre, or dyed black with graphite, was common. Also to be found was fine openwork embroidery with tendon thread on the straps and belts of the reindeer harness. Decorating the clothing was a job of the women. The men mainly engaged in 321
mammoth-ivory carving. They acquired a particularly high degree of skill in carving cheek-plates for the reindeer halter. Tin-inlaid fronts for reindeer saddles and knife handles were also found. The smiths were con- 326
sidered to be very skilled at inlaying iron objects with copper and silver. The runners and backs of light, low sleds common in the Khatangskiy Rayon show an intriguing range of colors. Dolgan designs for the most part are 331
geometric; they consist of combinations of crosses, semicircles, zigzags and broken lines. Wood-carving of a religious nature was also commonly 322
found. The representations were usually very symbolic.

The Post–Revolutionary Period in the Life of the Dolgans

[In 1926, there were already 17 cooperative stores in the Dolgan territory. 631
In 1931, the former clan Soviets were changed over and replaced by territorial nomadic Soviets, which went to make up the Taymyr Dolgan-Nennish 443
National Okrug.

[Collectivization of the Dolgans was begun in 1930-31 and completed in 474
1938. The Dolgan collective farms have collectivized reindeer herds, lines 233
of permanent polar-fox traps, supplies of portable steel springtraps, 224
firearms for hunting and protection of the herds, seines and vertical nets, reindeer harness, sleds, buildings, and special Arctic clothing. The

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut RY2

ing hour together, comparing the Yakut and Ainu people. He told me that he could not discern any similarity between the two races, either in physique, general customs or language. However, he mentioned a thing or two about the Yakuts' superstitions regarding fire, which were of great interest to me.

While the Ainu people look upon fire as it exists upon the hearth as of the feminine gender, the Yakuts hold it to be masculine. The divine spirit, which is the essence of fire, is supposed by them to be a grey-haired and most fussy old man. He is never entirely at rest and is a very garrulous old fellow. The cracking, snapping, jumping and hissing of fire are his remarks and whisperings. What his whisperings and shuffling about mean, ordinary people do not understand, yet the shamans and infants who have not yet learnt to speak understand it quite well, just as they are said to understand what the birds say to one another in their singing and chirping.

Like the Ainu "Old Woman Fire," the Yakut "Old Man Fire" knows what people are saying and doing about him in the houses, so all must be careful not to hurt his feelings, for that would be very dangerous. Rubbish may not be cast into the fire, and one must take care that no leaves or dirt be scraped off one's footgear near it. Nor must the fire be poked with any iron instrument. Moreover, the wooden fire-tongs must be burned up every ten days or so, and new ones provided. Unless these taboos are strictly adhered to, headaches and general misfortune will ensue.

A good housewife always takes care that the "Old Man Fire" may be satisfied with her, and she casts into it a small portion of everything which is being prepared for eating. The Hokkaidō Ainu custom is not so. It is the men alone who worship fire among these, and make offerings to it. I have never yet seen an Ainu woman on this island worshipping the fire or making offerings to it. The Yakuts say that as no one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut RY2

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ever knows what kind of temper the "Old Man Fire" may be in, as he sits there burning upon the hearth, it behoves everyone to conciliate him often by offering him little gifts, for he is a very jealous one. He is said to love fat, butter and cream better than anything else.

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As regards firelight, there are two interesting taboos connected therewith. No young man may pass beyond the strip of light which falls from the household fire, to cross over to the women's side of the hearth; nor may any woman, if she can possibly avoid it, pass through the strip of light in front of the hearth. Any transgression of these two taboos would bring dire trouble, the Yakuts believe.